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ACCOUNT

OF THE

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONGRESS

HELD AT

NEW-YORK,

IN MDCCLXV,

On the SUBJECT of the

AMERICAN STAMP ACT.

MDCCLXVII.

[Price One Shilling.]

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

CONGRESS

AT

NEW-YORK.

BOSTON, *June* 1765.

SIR,

THE Houſe of Repreſentatives of this province, in the preſent ſeſſion of the general court, have unanimouſly agreed to propoſe a meeting, as ſoon as may be, of COMMITTEES, from the houſes of repreſentatives or burgeſſes of the ſeveral Britiſh colonies on this continent, to conſult together on the preſent circumſtances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are, and muſt be reduced, by the operation of the acts of parliament for levying duties and taxes on the colonies; and to conſider of a ge-

neral, and united, dutiful, loyal and humble repreſentation of their condition, to his Majeſty and the Parliament, and to implore relief. The houſe of repreſentatives of this province have alſo voted to propoſe, That ſuch meeting be at the city of New-York, in the province of New-York, on the firſt Tueſday in October next; and have appointed a committee of three of their members to attend that ſervice, with ſuch as the other houſes of repreſentatives, or burgeſſes, in the ſeveral colonies, may think fit to appoint to meet them. And the committee of the houſe of repreſentatives of this province, are directed to repair to ſaid New-York, on ſaid firſt Tueſday in October next, accordingly.

If, therefore, your honourable houſe ſhould agree to this propoſal, it would be acceptable, that as early notice of it as poſſible, might be tranſmitted to the ſpeaker of the houſe of repreſentatives of this province.

SAMUEL WHITE, *Speaker.*

In conſequence of the foregoing circular letter, the following gentlemen met at New-York, in the province of New-York, on Monday the ſeventh day of October, 1765, viz.

From

From the province of the Maſſachuſetts-bay,

JAMES OTIS,
OLIVER PATRIDGE,
TIMOTHY RUGGLES,
} Eſquires.

From the colony of Rhode-Iſland, and Providence plantations,

METCALF BOWLER,
HENRY WARD,
} Eſquires.

From the colony of Connecticut,

ELIPHALET DYER,
DAVID ROWLAND,
WILLIAM SAMUEL JOHNSON,
} Eſquires.

From the colony of New-York,

ROBERT R. LIVINGSTON,
JOHN CRUGER,
PHILIP LIVINGSTON,
WILLIAM BYARD,
LEONARD LISPENARD,
} Eſquires.

From the colony of New-Jerſey,

ROBERT OGDEN,
HENDRICK FISHER,
JOSEPH BORDEN,
} Eſquires.

From the Province of Pennſylvania.

JOHN DICKENSON,
JOHN MORTON,
GEORGE BRYAN,
} Eſquires.

From

From the government of the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, on Delaware,

CÆSAR RODNEY,
THOMAS M'KEAN, } Eſquires.

From the province of Maryland,

WILLIAM MURDOCK,
EDWARD TILGHMAN,
THOMAS RINGGOLD, } Eſquires.

From the province of South-Carolina,

THOMAS LYNCH,
CHRISTOPHER GADSDEN,
JOHN RUTLEDGE, } Eſquires.

Then the ſaid committees proceeded to chuſe a chairman by ballot, and Timothy Ruggles, eſq; on ſorting and counting the votes, appeared to have a majority, and thereupon was placed in the chair.

SATURDAY, October 19, 1765, A. M.

The congreſs met according to adjournment, and reſumed, *&c.* as yeſterday. And, upon mature deliberation, agreed to the following declarations of the rights and grievances of the coloniſts in America, which were ordered to be inſerted.

The members of this congreſs, ſincerely devoted, with the warmeſt ſentiments of affection

affection and duty to his Majeſty's perſon and government, inviolably attached to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion, and with minds deeply impreſſed by a ſenſe of the preſent and impending misfortunes of the Britiſh colonies on this continent; having conſidered as maturely as time will permit, the circumſtances of the ſaid colonies, eſteem it our indiſpenſable duty to make the following declarations of our humble opinion, reſpecting the moſt eſſential rights and liberties of the coloniſts, and of the grievances under which they labour, by reaſon of ſeveral late acts of parliament.

I. That his Majeſty's ſubjects in theſe colonies, owe the ſame allegiance to the crown of Great-Britain, that is owing from his ſubjects born within the realm, and all due ſubordination to that auguſt body the parliament of Great-Britain.

II. That his Majeſty's liege ſubjects in theſe colonies, are entitled to all the inherent rights and liberties of his natural born ſubjects, within the kingdom of Great-Britain.

III. That it is inſeparably eſſential to the freedom of a people, and the undoubted right of Engliſhmen, that no taxes be impoſed on them but with their own conſent, given perſonally, or by their repreſentatives.

IV. That

IV. That the people of theſe colonies are not, and, from their local circumſtances, cannot be, repreſented in the Houſe of Commons in Great-Britain.

V. That the only repreſentatives of the people of theſe colonies are perſons choſen therein by themſelves, and that no taxes ever have been, or can be conſtitutionally impoſed on them, but by their reſpective legiſlature.

VI. That all ſupplies to the crown being free gifts of the people, it is unreaſonable and inconſiſtent with the principles and ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, for the people of Great-Britain to grant to his Majeſty the property of the coloniſts.

VII. That trial by jury, is the inherent and invaluable right of every Britiſh ſubject in theſe colonies.

VIII. That the late act of parliament, entitled, *An act for granting and applying certain ſtamp-duties, and other duties, in the Britiſh colonies and plantations in America, &c.* by impoſing taxes on the inhabitants of theſe colonies, and the ſaid act, and ſeveral other acts, by extending the juriſdiction of the courts of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, have a manifeſt tendency to ſubvert the rights and liberties of the coloniſts.

IX. That the duties impoſed by ſeveral late acts of parliament, from the peculiar

peculiar circumſtances of theſe colonies, will be extremely burthenſome and grievous; and from the ſcarcity of ſpecie, the payment of them abſolutely impracticable.

X. That as the profits of the trade of theſe colonies ultimately center in Great-Britain, to pay for the manufactures which they are obliged to take from thence, they eventually contribute very largely to all ſupplies granted there to the crown.

XI. That the reſtrictions impoſed by ſeveral late acts of parliament on the trade of theſe colonies, will render them unable to purchaſe the manufactures of Great-Britain.

XII. That the increaſe, proſperity and happineſs of theſe colonies, depend on the full and free enjoyments of their rights and liberties, and an intercourſe with Great-Britain mutually affectionate and advantageous.

XIII. That it is the right of the Britiſh ſubjects in theſe colonies to petition the king, or either houſe of parliament.

Laſtly, That it is the indiſpenſable duty of theſe colonies, to the beſt of ſovereigns, to the mother country, and to themſelves, to endeavour by a loyal and dutiful addreſs to his Majeſty, and humble applications to both houſes of parliament, to procure the repeal of the act for granting and applying certain ſtamp-du-

ties, of all clauſes of any other acts of parliament, whereby the juriſdiction of the admiralty is extended as aforeſaid, and of the other late acts for the reſtriction of American commerce.

Upon motion, voted, That Robert R. Livingſton, William Samuel Johnſon, and William Murdock, eſquires, be a committee to prepare an addreſs to his Majeſty, and lay the ſame before the congreſs on Monday next.

Voted alſo, That John Rutledge, Edward Tilghman, and Philip Livingſton, eſquires, be a committee to prepare a memorial and petition to the lords in parliament, and lay the ſame before the congreſs on Monday next.

Voted alſo, That Thomas Lynch, James Otis, and Thomas M'Kean, eſquires, be a committee to prepare a petition to the houſe of commons of Great-Britain, and lay the ſame before the congreſs on Monday next.

Then the congreſs adjourned to Monday next at twelve o'clock.

MONDAY, October 21, 1765, A. M.

The congreſs met according to adjournment.

The committee appointed to prepare and bring in an addreſs to his Majeſty, did report,

report, that they had eſſayed a draught for that purpoſe, which they laid on the table, and humbly ſubmitted to the correction of the congreſs.

The ſaid addreſs was read, and after ſundry amendments, the ſame was approved of by the congreſs, and ordered to be ingroſſed.

The committee appointed to prepare and bring in a memorial and petition to the lords in parliament, did report, That they had eſſayed a draught for that purpoſe, which they laid on the table, and humbly ſubmitted to the correction of the congreſs.

The ſaid addreſs was read, and after ſundry amendments, the ſame was approved of by the congreſs, and ordered to be ingroſſed.

The committee appointed to prepare and bring in a petition to the houſe of commons of Great-Britain did report, That they had eſſayed a draught for that purpoſe, which they laid on the table, and humbly ſubmitted to the correction of the congreſs.

The ſaid addreſs was read, and after ſundry amendments, the ſame was approved of by the congreſs, and ordered to be ingroſſed.

The congreſs adjourn to to-morrow morning, nine o'clock.

TUESDAY, October 22, 1765, A. M.

The congreſs met according to adjournment.

The addreſs to his Majeſty being ingroſſed, was read and compared, and is as follows, *viz.*

To the King's moſt Excellent MAJESTY.

The PETITION of the freeholders and other inhabitants of the Maſſachuſetts-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, and Providence plantations, , , New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the government of the counties of New-Caſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, upon Delaware, province of Maryland,

Moſt humbly ſheweth,

THAT the inhabitants of theſe colonies, unanimouſly devoted with the warmeſt ſentiments of duty and affection to your Majeſty's ſacred perſon and government, inviolably attached to the preſent happy eſtabliſhment of the proteſtant ſucceſſion in your illuſtrious houſe, and deeply ſenſible of your royal attention to their proſperity and happineſs, humbly beg

beg leave to approach the throne, by repreſenting to your Majeſty, that theſe colonies were originally planted by ſubjects of the Britiſh crown, who, animated with the ſpirit of liberty, encouraged by your Majeſty's royal predeceſſors, and confiding in the public faith for the enjoyment of all the rights and liberties eſſential to freedom, emigrated from their native country to this continent, and by their ſucceſsful perſeverance in the midſt of innumerable dangers and difficulties, together with a profuſion of their blood and treaſure, have happily added theſe vaſt and valuable dominions to the empire of Great-Britain. That for the enjoyment of theſe rights and liberties, ſeveral governments were early formed in the ſaid colonies, with full power of legiſlation, agreable to the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution.

That under thoſe governments, theſe liberties, thus veſted in their anceſtors, and tranſmitted to their poſterity, have been exerciſed and enjoyed, and by the ineſtimable bleſſings thereof (under the favour of almighty God) the inhoſpitable deſarts of America have been converted into flouriſhing countries; ſcience, humanity, and the knowledge of divine truths, diffuſed through remote regions of ignorance,

rance, infidelity, and barbariſm; the number of Britiſh ſubjects wonderfully increaſed, and the wealth and power of Great-Britain proportionably augmented.

That by means of theſe ſettlements, and the unparallelled ſucceſs of your Majeſty's arms, a foundation is now laid for rendering the Britiſh empire the moſt extenſive and powerful of any recorded in hiſtory. Our connection with this empire, we eſteem our greateſt happineſs and ſecurity, and humbly conceive it may now be ſo eſtabliſhed by your royal wiſdom, as to endure to the lateſt period of time; this, with moſt humble ſubmiſſion to your Majeſty, we apprehend will be moſt effectually accompliſhed, by fixing the pillars thereof on liberty and juſtice, and ſecuring the inherent rights and liberties of your ſubjects here, upon the principles of the Engliſh conſtitution. To this conſtitution theſe two principles are eſſential, the right of your faithful ſubjects, freely to grant to your Majeſty, ſuch aids as are required for the ſupport of your government over them, and other public exigencies, and trials by their peers: by the one they are ſecured from unreaſonable impoſitions; and by the other from arbitrary deciſions of the executive power.

The continuation of theſe liberties to the inhabitants of America we ardently implore,

implore, as abſolutely neceſſary to unite the ſeveral parts of your wide extended dominions, in that harmony ſo eſſential to the preſervation and happineſs of the whole. Protected in theſe liberties, the emoluments Great-Britain receives from us, however great at preſent, are inconſiderable, compared with thoſe ſhe has the faireſt proſpect of acquiring. By this protection ſhe will for ever ſecure to herſelf the advantage of conveying to all Europe, the merchandiſes which America furniſhes, and of ſupplying through the ſame channel whatever is wanted from thence. Here opens a boundleſs ſource of wealth and naval ſtrength; yet theſe immenſe advantages, by the abridgment of thoſe invaluable rights and liberties, by which our growth has been nouriſhed, are in danger of being for ever loſt; and our ſubordinate legiſlatures, in effect, rendered uſeleſs, by the late acts of parliament impoſing duties and taxes on theſe colonies, and extending the juriſdiction of the courts of admiralty here, beyond its ancient limits: ſtatutes by which your Majeſty's commons in Britain undertake abſolutely to diſpoſe of the property of their fellow ſubjects in America, without their conſent, and for the enforcing whereof, they are ſubjected to the determination of a ſingle judge in a court unreſtrained by the wiſe rules

rules of the common law, the birthright of Engliſhmen, and the ſafeguard of their perſons and properties.

The invaluable rights of taxing ourſelves, and trial by our peers, of which we implore your Majeſty's protection, are not, we moſt humbly conceive unconſtitutional; but confirmed by the great CHARTER of Engliſh liberty. On the firſt of theſe rights the honourable the houſe of commons found their practice of originating money bills, a right enjoyed by the kingdom of Ireland, by the clergy of England, until relinquiſhed by themſelves, a right, in fine, which all other your Majeſty's Engliſh ſubjects, both within and without the realm, have hitherto enjoyed.

With hearts, therefore, impreſſed with the moſt indelible characters of gratitude to your Majeſty, and to the memory of the kings of your illuſtrious houſe, whoſe reigns have been ſignally diſtinguiſhed by their auſpicious influence on the proſperity of the Britiſh dominions, and convinced by the moſt affecting proofs of your Majeſty's paternal love to all your people, however diſtant, and your unceaſing and benevolent deſires to promote their happineſs, we moſt humbly beſeech your Majeſty, that you will be graciouſly pleaſed

to

to take into your royal conſideration the diſtreſſes of your faithful ſubjects on this continent, and to lay the ſame before your Majeſty's parliament, and to afford them ſuch relief, as in your royal wiſdom their unhappy circumſtances ſhall be judged to require.

And your petitioners as in duty bound will pray.

The memorial to the lords in parliament was read and compared, and is as follows, viz.

To the right honourable the lords ſpiritual and temporal of Great-Britain, in parliament aſſembled.

The MEMORIAL of the freeholders and others inhabitants of the Maſſachuſett's-Bay, Rhode-Iſland, and Providence plantations, , , New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the government of the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, upon Delaware, province of Maryland,

Moſt humbly ſheweth,

THAT his Majeſty's liege ſubjects in his American colonies, though they acknowledge a due ſubordination to that auguſt body the Britiſh parliament, are entitled, in the opinion of your memorialiſts, to all the inherent rights and liberties of the natives of Great-Britain, and have ever ſince the Settlement of the ſaid colonies exerciſed thoſe rights and liberties, as far as their local circumſtances would permit.

That your memoraliſts humbly conceive one of the moſt eſſential rights of theſe colonies, which they have ever, till lately, uninterruptedly injoyed, to be trial by jury.

That your memorialiſts alſo humbly conceive another of theſe eſſential rights to be, the exemption from all taxes, but ſuch as are impoſed on the people by the ſeveral legiſlatures in theſe colonies, which right alſo they have, till of late, freely enjoyed.

But your memoraliſts humbly beg leave to repreſent to your lordſhips, that the act for granting certain ſtamp-duties in the Britiſh colonies in America, &c. fills his Majeſty's American ſubjects with the deepeſt

deepeſt concern, as it tends to deprive them of the two fundamental and invaluable rights and liberties above-mentioned, and that ſeveral other late acts of parliament, which extend the juriſdiction and powers of courts of admiralty in the plantations, beyond their limits in Great-Britain, thereby make an unneceſſary and unhappy diſtinction as to the modes of trial, between us and our fellow ſubjects there, by whom we never have been excelled in duty and loyalty to our Sovereign.

That from the natural connection between Great-Britain and America, the perpetual continuance of which your memorialiſts moſt ardently deſire, they conceive that nothing can conduce more to the intereſt of both, than the coloniſts free enjoyment of their rights and liberties, and an affectionate intercourſe between Great-Britain and them. But your memorialiſts (not waving their claim to theſe rights, of which with the moſt becoming veneration and deference to the wiſdom and juſtice of your lordſhips, they apprehend they cannot reaſonably be deprived) humbly repreſent, That from the peculiar circumſtances of theſe colonies, the duties impoſed by the aforeſaid act, and ſeveral other late acts of parliament, are extremely grievous and burthenſome,

and the payment of the ſaid duties will very ſoon, for want of ſpecie, become abſolutely impracticable; and that the reſtrictions on trade, by the ſaid acts, will not only greatly diſtreſs the colonies, but muſt be extremely detrimental to the trade and true intereſt of Great-Britain.

Your memorialiſts, therefore, impreſſed with a juſt ſenſe of the unfortunate circumſtances of the colonies, and the impending deſtructive conſequences which muſt neceſſarily enſue from the execution of thoſe acts, animated with the warmeſt ſentiments of filial affection for their mother country, moſt earneſtly and humbly entreat, That your lordſhips will be pleaſed to hear their counſel in ſupport of this memorial, and take the premiſſes into your moſt ſerious conſideration, and that your lordſhips will alſo be thereupon pleaſed to purſue ſuch meaſures for reſtoring the juſt rights and liberties of the colonies, and preſerving them for ever inviolate, for redreſſing their preſent, and preventing future grievances, thereby promoting the united intereſt of Great-Britain and America, as to your lordſhips, in your great wiſdom ſhall ſeem moſt conducive and effectual to that important end.

And your memorialiſts as in duty bound will ever pray.

WEDNES-

WEDNESDAY, October 23, 1765, A. M.

The congreſs met according to adjournment.

The petition to the houſe of commons being ingroſſed, was read and compared, and is as follows, *viz.*

To the honourable the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes of Great-Britain, in parliament aſſembled.

The PETITION of his Majeſty's dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the freeholders and other inhabitants of the colonies of the Maſſachuſetts-bay, Rhode-iſland, and Providence plantations, , , New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the government of the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex, upon Delaware, Maryland,

Moſt humbly ſheweth,

THAT the ſeveral late acts of parliament, impoſing divers duties and taxes on the colonies, and laying the trade and commerce thereof under very burthenſome reſtrictions, but above all the act for granting and applying certain ſtamp-duties, &c. in America, have fill'd them

them with the deepeſt concern and ſurprize; and they humbly conceive the execution of them will be attended with conſequences very injurious to the commercial intereſt of Great-Britain and her colonies, and muſt terminate in the eventual ruin of the latter.

Your petitioners therefore moſt ardently implore the attention of the honourable houſe, to the united and dutiful repreſentation of their circumſtances, and to their earneſt ſupplications for relief, from thoſe regulations which have already involved this continent in anxiety, confuſion, and diſtreſs.

We moſt ſincerely recognize our allegiance to the crown, and acknowledge all due ſubordination to the parliament of Great-Britain, and ſhall always retain the moſt grateful ſenſe of their aſſiſtance and protection. It is from and under the Engliſh conſtitution, we derive all our civil and religious rights and liberties: we glory in being ſubjects of the beſt of kings, and having been born under the moſt perfect form of government; but it is with moſt ineffable and humiliating ſorrow, that we find ourſelves, of late, deprived of the right of granting our own property for his Majeſty's ſervice, to which our lives and fortunes are entirely devoted, and

to which, on his royal requiſitions, we have ever been ready to contribute to the utmoſt of our abilities.

We have alſo the misfortune to find, that all the penalties and forfeitures mentioned in the ſtamp-act, and in divers late acts of trade extending to the plantations, are, at the election of the informer, recoverable in any court of admiralty in America. This, as the newly erected court of admiralty has a general juriſdiction over all Britiſh America, renders his Majeſty's ſubjects in theſe colonies, liable to be carried, at an immenſe expence, from one end of the continent to the other.

It gives us alſo great pain to ſee a manifeſt diſtinction made therein, between the ſubjects of our mother country, and thoſe in the colonies, in that the like penalties and forfeitures recoverable there only in his Majeſty's court of record, are made cognizable here by a court of admiralty: by theſe means we ſeem to be, in effect, unhappily deprived of two privileges eſſential to freedom, and which all Engliſhmen have ever conſidered as their beſt birthrights, that of being free from all taxes but ſuch as they have conſented to in perſon, or by their repreſentatives, and of trial by their peers.

Your

Your petitioners further ſhew, That the remote ſituation, and other circumſtances of the colonies, render it impracticable that they ſhould be repreſented, but in their reſpective ſubordinate legiſlature; and they humbly conceive, that the parliament, adhering ſtrictly to the principles of the conſtitution, have never hitherto taxed any but thoſe who were actually therein repreſented; for this reaſon, we humbly apprehend, they never have taxed Ireland, or any other of the ſubjects without the realm.

But were it ever ſo clear, that the colonies might in law be reaſonably deem'd to be repreſented in the honourable houſe of commons, yet we conceive, that very good reaſons, from inconvenience, from the principles of true policy, and from the ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution, may be adduced to ſhew, that it would be for the real intereſt of Great-Britain, as well as her colonies, that the late regulations ſhould be reſcinded, and the ſeveral acts of parliament impoſing duties and taxes on the colonies, and extending the juriſdiction of the courts of admiralty here, beyond their ancient limits, ſhould be repeal'd.

We ſhall not attempt a minute detail of all the reaſons which the wiſdom of the honour-

honourable houſe may ſuggeſt, on this occaſion, but would humbly ſubmit the following particulars to their conſideration.

That money is already become very ſcarce in theſe colonies, and is ſtill decreaſing by the neceſſary exportation of ſpecie from the continent, for the diſcharge of our debts to Britiſh merchants.

That an immenſely heavy debt is yet due from the colonies for Britiſh manufactures, and that they are ſtill heavily burthen'd with taxes to diſcharge the arrearages due for aids granted by them in the late war.

That the balance of trade will ever be much againſt the colonies, and in favour of Great-Britain, whilſt we conſume her manufactures, the demand for which muſt ever increaſe in proportion to the number of inhabitants ſettled here, with the means of purchaſing them. We therefore humbly conceive it to be the intereſt of Great-Britain, to increaſe, rather than diminiſh, thoſe means, as the profits of all the trade of the colonies ultimately center there to pay for her manufactures, as we are not allowed to purchaſe elſewhere; and by the conſumption of which, at the advanced prices the Britiſh taxes oblige the makers and venders

to ſet on them, we eventually contribute very largely to the revenue of the crown.

That from the nature of American buſineſs, the multiplicity of ſuits and papers uſed in matters of ſmall value, in a country where freeholds are ſo minutely divided, and property ſo frequently transferr'd, a ſtamp-duty muſt ever be very burthenſome and unequal.

That it is extremely improbable that the honourable houſe of commons ſhould, at all times, be thoroughly acquainted with our condition, and all facts requiſite to a juſt and equal taxation of the colonies.

It is alſo humbly ſubmitted, Whether there be not a material diſtinction in reaſon and ſound policy, at leaſt, between the neceſſary exerciſe of parliamentary juriſdiction in general acts, for the amendment of the common law, and the regulation of trade and commerce through the whole empire, and the exerciſe of that juriſdiction, by impoſing taxes on the colonies.

That the ſeveral ſubordinate provincial legiſlatures have been moulded into forms, as nearly reſembling that of their mother country, as by his Majeſty's royal predeceſſors was thought convenient; and their legiſlatures ſeem to have been wiſely and graciouſly eſtabliſhed, that the ſubjects in the

the colonies might, under the due adminiſtration thereof, enjoy the happy fruits of the Britiſh government, which in their preſent circumſtances they cannot be ſo fully and clearly availed of, any other way under theſe forms of government we and our anceſtors have been born or ſettled, and have had our lives, liberties and properties protected. The people here, as every where elſe, retain a great fondneſs for their old cuſtoms and uſages, and we truſt that his Majeſty's ſervice, and the intereſt of the nation, ſo far from being obſtructed, have been vaſtly promoted by the provincial legiſlatures.

That we eſteem our connections with, and dependance on Great-Britain, as one of our greateſt bleſſings, and apprehend the latter will appear to be ſufficiently ſecure, when it is conſidered, that the inhabitants in the colonies have the moſt unbounded affection for his Majeſty's perſon, family and government, as well as for the mother country, and that their ſubordination to the parliament, is univerſally acknowledged.

We, therefore, moſt humbly entreat, That the honourable houſe would be pleaſed to hear our counſel in ſupport of this petition, and take our diſtreſſed and deplorable caſe into their ſerious conſider-

ation, and that the acts and clauses of acts, so grievously restraining our trade and commerce, imposing duties and taxes on our property, and extending the jurisdiction of the court of admiralty beyond its ancient limits, may be repeal'd; or that the honourable house would otherwise relieve your petitioners, as in your great wisdom and goodness shall seem meet.

And your petitioners as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Then the congress adjourned till tomorrow morning, ten o'clock.

THURSDAY, October 24, 1765.

The congress met according to adjournment.

The congress took into consideration the manner in which their several petitions should be preferred and solicited in Great-Britain, and came to the following determination, viz.

It is recommended by the congress, to the several colonies, to appoint special agents for soliciting relief from their great grievances, and unite their utmost interest and endeavours for that purpose.

Voted

Voted unanimouſly, That the clerk of this congreſs ſign the minutes of their proceedings, and deliver a copy for the uſe of each colony and province.

By order of the congreſs,

JOHN COTTON, Clerk.

Savannah, in Georgia, September 6, 1765.

SIR,

(COPY.) YOUR letter dated in June laſt, acquainting me, that the houſe of repreſentatives of your province, had unanimouſly agreed to propoſe a meeting at the city of New-York, of committees, from the houſes of repreſentatives of the ſeveral Britiſh colonies on this continent, on the firſt Tueſday in October next, to conſult together on the preſent circumſtances of the colonies, and the difficulties to which they are, and muſt be reduced, by the operation of the acts of parliament for laying duties and taxes on the colonies, and to conſider of an humble repreſentation of their condition to his Majeſty and the parliament, and to implore relief, came to hand at an unlucky ſeaſon, it being in the receſs of the

the general aſſemby of this province; nevertheleſs, immediately upon the receipt of your letter, I diſpatched expreſſes to the ſeveral repreſentatives of this province, acquainting them with the purport thereof, and requeſting them to meet at this place without delay, and accordingly they met here on Monday laſt, to the number of ſixteen, being a large majority of the repreſentatives of this province, the whole conſiſting of twenty-five perſons; but his excellency our governor being applied to, did not think it expedient to call them together on the occaſion, which is the reaſon of their not ſending a committee, as propoſed by your houſe, for you may be aſſured, Sir, that no repreſentatives on this continent can more ſincerely concur in the meaſures propoſed, than do the repreſentatives of this province now met together, neither can any people, as individuals, more warmly eſpouſe the common cauſe of the colonies, than do the people of this province.

The gentlemen now preſent, requeſt it as a favour, you'll be pleaſed to ſend me a copy of ſuch repreſentation as may be agreed upon by the ſeveral committees at New-York, and to acquaint me how, and in what manner, the ſame is to be lain before the king and parliament, whether

by

by any perſon particularly authorized for that purpoſe, or by the colony agents. The general aſſembly of this province ſtands prorogued to the 22d day of October next, which is the time it generally meets for the diſpatch of the ordinary buſineſs of the province; and I doubt not the repreſentatives of this province will then, in their legiſlative capacity, take under conſideration the grievances ſo juſtly complained of, and tranſmit their ſenſe of the ſame to Great-Britain, in ſuch way as may ſeem beſt calculated to obtain redreſs, and ſo as to convince the ſiſter colonies of their inviolable attachment to the common cauſe. I am, SIR,

Your moſt obedient,
And moſt humble ſervant,
ALEXANDER WILLY.

To SAMUEL WHITE, Eſq; Speaker of the Houſe of Repreſentatives of Maſſachuſetts, &c.

New-Hampſhire.

Mr. Speaker laid before the houſe a letter from the honourable Speaker of the honourable houſe of repreſentatives of the province of the Maſſachuſetts-bay, to the Speaker of this aſſembly, propoſing a meeting of committees, from the ſeveral aſſemblies of the Britiſh colonies on the continent,

continent, at New-York, to conſider of a general, united, dutiful, loyal, and humble repreſentation of our circumſtances, and for imploring his Majeſty and the parliament for relief: which being read,

Reſolved, That notwithſtanding we are ſenſible ſuch repreſentation ought to be made, and approve of the propoſed method for obtaining thereof, yet the preſent ſituation of our governmental affairs will not permit us to appoint a committee to attend ſuch meeting, but ſhall be ready to join in any addreſs to his Majeſty and the parliament we may be honoured with the knowledge of, probable to anſwer the propoſed end.

A. CLARKSON, Clerk.

The two foregoing letters are true copies from the original.

Atteſt. JOHN COTTON, Clerk.

Adjourned to to-morrow morning nine o'clock.

FRIDAY, October 25, 1765.

The congreſs met according to adjournment.

Time not permitting the clerk to make copies at large, of the proceedings of the congreſs,

congreſs, for all the colonies, they think it proper, ſhould be furniſhed therewith;

Reſolved, That the gentlemen from the Maſſachuſetts-bay be requeſted to ſend a copy thereof to the colony of New Hampſhire; the gentlemen of Maryland to Virginia; and the gentlemen of South Carolina to Georgia, and North Carolina.

Signed per order,

J. COTTON, Clerk.

An account of the diſpoſition of the £.500 granted by ordinance, and received of the treaſurer, by William Murdock, Edward Tilghman, and Thomas Ringgold.

	£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
To caſh paid the whole expences of the committee to New York, there and backa gain.	138	14	1	By caſh received of the Treaſurer in gold, £.500, at 5/6 per dwt. as follows:			
To caſh paid expreſs to New York, to give notice of our coming.	15			409 Spaniſh piſtoles, at 27/.	532	3	
To paid for expreſs, to ſend a copy of our proceedings to the Speaker of Virginia.	1	10		5 Half Johannes, at 57/6.	14	7	6
To paid for a bill of exchange, to remit to Charles Garth, Eſq; with the addreſs and petitions 150/. ſterling, at 65 per cent. exchange. - -	247	10		4 French piſtoles, at 26/6.	5	6	
Caſh remaining in hand 127 piſtoles, and 18/8.	172	7	8	1 Moidore, - - -	2	3	6
				1 Half ditto, - - -	1	1	9
	575	1	9		575	1	9

October 26, 1765.

SIR,

WE had the honour to be appointed by the houſe of repreſentatives of the province of Maryland, a committee, to meet committees of the members of aſſembly of the other colonies on this continent, at New York, the firſt of this inſtant, to join in a general, and united, dutiful, loyal, and humble repreſentation of the condition of thoſe colonies, to his Majeſty and the parliament, and to implore relief from the grievous burthens lately laid upon our trade, and the taxes and duties lately impoſed on us, eſpecially by the Stamp-act.

Accordingly members from nine colonies met, to wit, from the Maſſachuſetts-bay, Connecticut, Rhode-iſland and Providence plantations, New-York, New-Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the government of the counties of Newcaſtle, Kent and Suſſex, upon Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, but as you'll find the addreſs, &c. ſigned only by members from ſix of thoſe colonies, it may be proper to acquaint you with the reaſons why they did not all ſign, though they all concurred with the proceedings.

The

The lieutenant-governor of New-York prorogued their aſſembly from time to time, ſo that their houſe had not an opportunity of appointing members with full powers to join, and ſign the addreſs, &c. Yet the aſſembly of New-York having, at their laſt meeting, appointed five of their members as a committee, not only to correſpond with their agent at home, but alſo during the receſs of the houſe, to write to and correſpond with the ſeveral aſſemblies, or committees of aſſemblies on this continent, on the ſubject matter of the ſeveral late acts of parliament, ſo grievous and dangerous to their colonies, it was thought proper to admit this committee to join in the conferences, and they agreed to what was done, and promiſed to uſe their endeavours with their aſſembly to concur alſo whenever they ſhould be permited to meet.

The South-Carolina aſſembly, not rightly viewing the propoſal (which originally came from the aſſembly of the government of the Maſſachuſetts-bay) as it was intended that the ſeveral committees, when met, ſhould frame and ſign an addreſs to his Majeſty, and memorial and petition to the parliament, to be immediately diſpatched by the congreſs, inſtructed their members (Meſſrs. Lynch,

Rutledge, and Gadſden) to return their proceedings to them for approbation. The Connecticut aſſembly made the ſame reſtrictions in their inſtructions. The aſſembly alſo of New Hampſhire wrote, that they had reſolved, That notwithſtanding they were ſenſible ſuch a repreſentation ought to be made, and approved of the propoſed method for obtaining thereof, yet the preſent ſituation of their governmental affairs would not permit them to appoint a committee to attend ſuch meeting, but ſhould be ready to join in any addreſs to his Majeſty and the parliament they might be honoured with the knowledge of, probable to anſwer the propoſed end: and the Speaker of the aſſembly of Georgia wrote, that a majority of their members had applied to the governor to call their aſſembly, and he did not think it expedient, which was the reaſon they did not ſend a committee as propoſed, but requeſted us to tranſmit a copy of our proceedings to them (which will be done) and that their aſſembly would meet about this time, and he did not doubt but they ſhould act ſo as to convince the ſiſter colonies of their inviolable attachment to the common cauſe: we alſo underſtood the North-Carolina, and we know the Virginia aſſembly was prorogued, whereby they could

could not have the opportunity of joining us; ſo that we doubt not but the colonies who have not ſigned, will very ſpeedily tranſmit ſimilar addreſſes, &c. if their aſſemblies ſhould not be hindered from meeting: and to this purpoſe, we hope you'll ſoon hear from the aſſembly of South-Carolina. By the gentlemen of that colony we were favoured with a ſight of your late letters, and informed of your careful and ſpirited conduct with regard to the intereſts of that colony, and that, together with your declaration which we find in thoſe letters, that you enjoy an independent ſeat in the Britiſh parliament, induced us (as we have no eſtabliſhed agent at preſent, for this province, nor have yet been able to obtain a law to tax ourſelves for that purpoſe) to trouble you with our requeſt, that you will preſent the incloſed addreſs to his Majeſty, and memorial and petition to the houſes of parliament, and exert your utmoſt intereſt and abilities in behalf of this poor diſtreſſed country, and of this province in particular.

We hope, as there is a change in the miniſtry, and as the gentlemen in the houſe of commons may, at their next meeting, take a more enlarged view of the true intereſt of Great-Britain and her colonies, they will find it to be in ſupporting

porting the rights and encouraging the trade of the latter, and that the happineſs of the mother-country and her colonies muſt be inſeparable, and that we ſhall obtain relief.

The ſeveral committees agreed to recommend it to their reſpective colonies, to appoint ſpecial agents on this occaſion, and to inſtruct them to unite their utmoſt intereſt and endeavours for that purpoſe. One addreſs, &c. was tranſmited by the gentlemen of the Maſſachuſetts government, immediately to their agent (Mr. Jackſon we underſtood) and we expect the other colonies will have duplicates ſent to their agents, and we hope will all unite in expence and inſtructions, to have able counſel before both the lords and commons, as our petitions pray.

We were intruſted with the diſpoſition of ſome money upon this occaſion, and incloſe you a bill of exchange, on Meſſrs. Capel and Oſgood Hanbury, for one hundred and fifty pounds ſterling, as a compenſation for your trouble and expence in this affair. We doubt not our aſſembly will approve of what we do in this matter; and as they are to meet the laſt of this month, we ſhall lay our proceedings before them, and it is probable they will write you more fully, and furniſh

niſh you with ſuch further inſtructions and arguments as may appear to them to be proper to be given and urged on this occaſion, in behalf of the colonies.

We are,

Your moſt obedient ſervants.

FINIS.